

## Message Text

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PAGE 01      WARSAW 02974 271054Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 BIB-01 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04  
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01  
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /061 W  
-----271059Z 009988 /14

R 270925Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7817  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
USMISSION BERLIN UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 2974

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR SOPH XH RO PL  
SUBJ: RFE EVALUATION REPORT

REF: (A) BUCHAREST 2929, (B) WARSAW 2515

1. SUMMARY. EMBASSY BUCHAREST IS RIGHT ON THE MARK IN CALLING  
ATTENTION TO RFE'S HANDLING OF DISSIDENCE IN EASTERN EUROPE  
(REF A). MUCH OF WHAT BUCHAREST SAYS APPLIES ALSO TO POLAND.  
I STRONGLY SUPPORT BUCHAREST'S RECOMMENDATIONS ON GUIDELINES.  
END SUMMARY.

2. AS WE POINTED OUT IN OUR LAST EVALUATION (REF B), THE POLISH  
PUBLIC RELIES ON RFE FOR ACCURATE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORTING ON  
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EVENTS INSIDE THIS COUNTRY. AT THE SAME TIME, THE AVERAGE POLE  
IS SENSITIVE TO EXAGGERATED CRITICISM FROM ABROAD, EVEN WHEN IT  
IS DIRECTED AGAINST THE REGIME. THE VALUE OF RFE LIES IN ITS  
FACTUAL AND TIMELY COVERAGE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND AND ITS  
BALANCED AND DISPASSIONATE COMMENTARIES. TO THE EXTENT THAT IT  
DISTORTS THE FACTS OR INDULGES IN EXAGGERATION OR HYPERBOLE,  
IT LOSES CREDIBILITY. AS WE NOTED IN REF B, THE RADIO HAD BY

AND LARGE ADHERED TO ITS OWN GUIDELINES DURING THE TENSE PERIOD SINCE LAST SUMMER'S DISTURBANCES.

3. NOW, IT APPEARS, A NEW PHASE IS BEGINNING IN POLISH DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK AND HIS ASSOCIATES HAVE HANDLED THE ARRESTED RADOM WORKERS AND THE WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE (WDL) WITH RELATIVE MODERATION AND RESTRAINT AND HAVE THUS DEPRIVED THE WDL OF MUCH OF ITS RAISON D'ETRE. THE MOVEMENT FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE CITIZEN IS ATTEMPTING TO STEP INTO THE BREACH LEFT BY THE REGIME'S RELATIVE SUCCESS IN DEPRIVING THE WDL OF ITS SOLE ISSUE. POTENTIALLY, THE MOVEMENT REPRESENTS A COMPREHENSIVE CHALLENGE TO THE REGIME. IN CONTRAST TO THOSE OF THE WDL, ITS DEMANDS ARE LONG-RANGE AND ITS PURPOSES AKIN TO THOSE OF DISSIDENTS IN OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. THERE IS AS YET, HOWEVER, NO EVIDENCE THAT IT HAS HAD ANY SIGNIFICANT SUCCESS IN ATTRACTING A FOLLOWING OUTSIDE A NARROW CIRCLE OF WARSAW INTELLECTUALS.

4. I HAVE JUST READ THE TRANSLATION OF THE POLISH SERVICE'S DAILY COMMENTARY NO. 3396, MARCH 24, 1977 ("1976 - A TURNING POINT"). THIS EPITOMIZES THE KIND OF INFLAMMATORY COMMENT WHICH RFE SHOULD ASSIDUOUSLY AVOID. I AM PARTICULARLY DISTURBED BY THIS SCRIPT'S ASSERTIONS THAT THE WORKERS, THE INTELLECTUALS, AND THE CHURCH HAVE COALESCED INTO AN ANTI-REGIME MOVEMENT. THIS IS SIMPLY NOT SO. AS I HAVE POINTED OUT, NO EFFECTIVE COMBINATION OF ANY TWO OF THESE ELEMENTS EXISTS. UNDER THE WISE LEADERSHIP OF THE PRIMATE OF POLAND, THE EPISCOPATE HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY CAREFUL TO KEEP ITS DISTANCE FROM THE WDL (FOR ONE THING -- VERY IMPORTANT TO THE CHURCH -- SOME OF THE LEADERS

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OF THE WDL ARE MARXISTS AND CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI HAS NO INTENTION OF SUPPORTING ONE GROUP OF MARXISTS AGAINST ANOTHER). REGRETTABLY, THERE IS NO WORKERS' ORGANIZATION OUTSIDE THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE PZPR WHICH CAN COMBINE WITH ANY OTHER GROUP.

5. I AM SHOCKED THAT RFE'S POLISH SERVICE WOULD BROADCAST A SCRIPT WHICH COULD LEAD PEOPLE INSIDE POLAND, MOST OF WHOM ARE ALMOST TOTALLY DEPENDENT ON RFE FOR A TRUTHFUL INTERPRETATION OF WHAT IS GOING ON HERE, TO BELIEVE THAT AN EFFECTIVE COALITION EXISTS IN OPPOSITION TO THE COMMUNIST REGIME. THIS EMBASSY HAS REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT THE DANGERS OF THIS SORT OF ERRONEOUS AND INFLAMMATORY COMMENTARY. IF THE MISPERCEPTION WHICH IS CONVEYED BY THIS BROADCAST WERE ACCEPTED BY LARGE NUMBERS OF POLES, THE ERRONEOUS BELIEF COULD BE FOSTERED THAT, IN A SHOW-DOWN, A POPULAR RISING COULD SUCCEED. I FIND IT DIFFICULT TO REGARD THIS KIND OF BROADCAST AS ANYTHING BUT IRRESPONSIBLE.

6. RELUCTANTLY, I MUST AGREE WITH EMBASSY BUCHAREST THAT PRE-BROADCAST REVIEW -- AT LEAST OF COMMENTARIES -- IS NOW

NECESSARY. IF THE LANGUAGE SERVICES CANNOT DISCIPLINE THEMSELVES  
-- AND DAILY COMMENTARY NO. 3396 SHOWS THAT THE POLISH  
SERVICE CANNOT -- THEN SOMEONE ELSE MUST DO THE JOB. IF IT IS  
NOT DONE, WE WILL BE PLAYING CONTINUALLY WITH FIRE AND BLOOD.  
DAVIES

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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